

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PRETOR 04716 01 OF 02 121902Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----063989 121905Z /47

O P 121830Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8782
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 4716

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, RH, SF
SUBJECT: DEVELOPMENTS ON RHODESIAN FRONT

FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS TOOK PLACE ON RHODESIAN QUESTION AT
THIS END TODAY:

1. AT NOON BRITISH EMBASSY DELIVERED FOLLOWING LETTER TO
PIK BOTHA FROM DAVID OWEN:

QUOTE: DEAR PICK:

QUOTE: IN MY MESSAGE LAST WEEK, I MENTIONED THAT WE HOPED
TO GO TO THE UN SOON TO SEEK APPROVAL FOR THE FIRST STAGE
OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT. THIS WOULD MEAN THE APPOINTMENT OF A
UN REPRESENTATIVE TO UNDERTAKE DISCUSSIONS, JOINTLY WITH
LORD CARVER, OUR RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE, AND WITH
ALL THE PARTIES, ON THE ROLE OF ALL THE FORCES IN RHODESIA
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DURING THE TRANSITION, AS SET OUT IN PARA 11(C) OF OUR
PROPOSALS.

QUOTE THIS IS TO LET YOU KNOW THAT I AM PROVISIONALLY
PLANNING ON ASKING FOR A DEBATE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL EARLY
IN TH WEEK AFTER NEXT, I.E. ABOUT 19 SEPTEMBER, BEFORE THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY GETS UNDERWAY. WE INTEND TO PUT FORWARD

A DRAFT RESOLUTION SEEKING SECURITY COUNCIL AGREEMENT TO THE APPOINTMENT OF A UN REPRESENTATIVE TO CARRY OUT THE DISCUSSIONS. IT WOULD NOT DEAL WITH THE MANDATE FOR A UN FORCE OR WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF THE FUTURE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE: ALL THAT WOULD BE FOR A LATER STAGE AND WOULD DEPEND ON THE DISCUSSIONS, THE RESULTS OF WHICH WOULD BE REPORTED BACK TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE ATTACH A GOOD DEAL OF IMPORTANCE TO THE ADOPTION OF THIS INITIAL RESOLUTION BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY GETS UNDERWAY, SINCE IT WOULD BE MUCH HARDER TO LIMIT THE SCOPE OF DEBATE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL LATER ON, WHEN DISCUSSION OF SANCTIONS WOULD BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO AVOID.

QUOTE OUR INTENTION TO SEEK APPROVAL OF A RESOLUTION ON THESE LINES DOES NOT DEPEND ON AN INDICATION FROM MR. SMITH THAT HE IS READY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS. NOR DOES IT DEPEND ON AN INDICATION FROM THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT MR. SMITH WOULD BE UNWISE TO TURN DOWN THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN WORKING OUT THE MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS AND I HOPE YOU WILL BE PREPARED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT YOU FEEL THAT HE SHOULD TAKE PART AND MAKE THIS KNOWN TO HIM.

QUOTE I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE SUPPORT OF THE FRONT LINE STATES AND IN PARTICULAR PRESIDENT MACHEL. I DO NOT MIND THAT GOVERNMENTS ARE CAUTIOUS IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS;
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THE CRUCIAL ISSUE IS THEIR PRIVATE VIEW AND THE PRESSURE THEY WILL BRING ON THE PARTIES TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE TO COME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND THEN NEGOTIATE SENSIBLY. THE FRONT LINE STATES HAVE, AS YOU KNOW, COMPROMISED A GOOD DEAL ON THEIR EARLIER DEMAND FOR THE TOTAL DISMANTLING OF WHAT THEY TERM THE "SMITH ARMY". THE COMPROMISE WE HAVE ARRIVED AT, WHICH I KNOW YOU DID NOT LIKE WHEN WE EXPLAINED IT TO YOU, OVER THE LIBERATION FORCES IS VERY DELICATE BUT IT OFFERS IN OUR VIEW THE ONLY BASIS FOR A NEGOTIATION.

QUOTE IF MR. SMITH DECLINES TO COME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, HE WILL FIND HIMSELF IN A VERY SERIOUS SITUATION BUT I HOPE THIS CAN BE AVOIDED, EITHER BY HIM PUBLICLY ACCEPTING, OR LETTING IT BE KNOWN THAT HE WILL TAKE PART AND BY NOT CONTRADICTING ANY STATEMENT THAT WE MAKE IMPLYING THAT HE WILL ATTEND.

QUOTE I AM WRITING TO YOU FRANKLY IN THIS WAY BECAUSE I CONSIDER IT VITAL THAT WE SHOULD GET OVER THIS NEXT HURDLE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL SUCCESSFULLY. IT SHOULD BE MUCH EASIER TO SEE THE WAY AHEAD WHEN DISCUSSIONS ON MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

BEST WISHES,

DAVID OWEN UNQUOTE

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----064373 121930Z /47

O P 121830Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8783
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 4716

EXDIS

2. FOLLOWING OUR MEETING WITH BOTHA AND FOURIE ON NAMIBIA, BRITISH DCM SUMMERHAYES AND I SAW FOURIE ALONE TO GET READ-OUT ON VORSTER-SMITH TALKS. SUMMERHAYES OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY ASKING WHETHER SMITH HAD GIVEN THEM COPY OF LIST OF QUESTIONS ON THE WHITE PAPER WHICH THEY HAD PRESENTED TO BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES IN SALISBURY. FOURIE SAID SMITH HAD DONE SO, INDICATING HE COULD NOT GIVE FINAL RESPONSE TO ANGLO-AMERICAN PACKAGE UNTIL ANSWERS RECEIVED. FOURIE VOLUNTEERED NO FURTHER COMMENT ON TALKS OTHER THAN TO: (A) NOTE SMITH'S DEEP UNHAPPINESS WITH THE LAW AND ORDER PROVISIONS, AND (B) STATE SMITH HAD BEEN ADVISED TO CONSIDER ENTERING INTO THE PROPOSED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE AND THE UNSPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. AT THIS POINT I MADE THE SUGGESTION MOOSE HAD MADE TO SOLE ON HOW HELPFUL RHODESIAN PARTICIPATION WOULD BE IN SUCH TALKS (STATE 217504). FOURIE OBSERVED THAT SOLE HAD REPORTED THIS CONVERSATION AND THE SAG WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE BRITISH MAKE A SIMILAR STATEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING REGARDING THOSE DISCUSSIONS NOT COMMITTING

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SMITH TO THE OVERALL PROPOSAL.

3. SUBSEQUENTLY FOURIE GAVE THE BRITISH THE FOLLOWING REPLY TO THE OWEN LETTER:

QUOTE I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER MR. SMITH WILL BE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ENVISAGED UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE FOR ANY PURPOSE WHATSOEVER. IN THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE HE MAY POSSIBLY TURN DOWN THE PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ADVISE HIM TO ALLOW THE TWO OFFICIALS TO VISIT RHODESIA AND TO CONDUCT EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM ALONG THE LINES STATED IN PARA 11(C) OF THE PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT, VIZ:

QUOTE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL BE INVITED TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS, BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD, WITH THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE AND WITH ALL THE PARTIES WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING IN DETAIL THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF ALL THE FORCES IN RHODESIA.

QUOTE THERE IS NO HOPE OF PERSUADING MR. SMITH TO AGREE TO THIS UNLESS I CAN INTIMATE TO HIM THAT AGREEMENT WITH THIS STEP WILL NOT BE INTERPRETED AS A COMMITMENT ON HIS PART TO ACCEPT ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT. INDEED IT HAS JUST NOW BEEN BROUGHT TO MY NOTICE THAT MR. RICHARD MOOSE, IN THE COURSE OF A GENERAL DISCUSSION WITH OUR AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON ON 9 SEPTEMBER 1977, MENTIONED THAT AGREEMENT BY THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT TO CONDUCT SUCH DISCUSSIONS WOULD NOT IMPLY ANY COMMITMENT WHATSOEVER.

QUOTE I SHALL GET IN TOUCH WITH MR. SMITH THIS AFTERNOON AFTER HIS ARRIVAL IN SALISBURY AND WILL LET YOU KNOW OF HIS REACTION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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QUOTE WE HELD DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. SMITH TODAY HERE IN PRETORIA AND REVIEWED THE SOUTHERN AFRICA SITUATION WITH HIM. IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THE QUESTION OF THE ARMED FORCES POSES A GRAVE OBSTACLE. IN THIS CONNECTION I WISH TO REITERATE THE VIEW EXPRESSED BY MY PRIME MINISTER WHEN WE RECENTLY MET IN PRETORIA, NAMELY, THAT IF YOU WANT YOUR PLAN TO SUCCEED IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO CONSIDER REVERTING TO THE BASIS OUTLINED TO ME IN LONDON. UNQUOTE

FOURIE ADDED IN CLARIFICATION OF THE THIRD PARAGRAPH OF

THE LETTER THAT BOTHA WAS ASSUMING THAT THE BRITISH SHARED THE AMERICAN VIEWS THAT ENTERING INTO THE CARVER-UN PRPRESENTATIVE DISCUSSION DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A COMMITMENT ON THE PACKAGE AS A WHOLE.

4. SIR DAVID SCOTT AND I HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONTACT HAWKINS FOR READ-OUT BECAUSE HE RETURNED TO SALISBURY WITH SMITH.

5. COMMENT: WHILE BOTHA AND FOURIE HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT LESS THAN FORTHCOMING ON RESULTS OF VORSTER-SMITH MEETING THIS MORNING, THEY GAVE EVERY INDICATION OF WANTING SMITH TO ENTER INTO THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH CARVER AND UN REPRESENTATIVE. BRITISH CLARIFICATION THAT ENTERING INTO TALKS WILL NOT PREJUDICE SMITH'S POSITION ON OVERALL PACKAGE WILL BE HELPFUL IN REINFORCING THEIR INCLINATION TO URGE SMITH TO ENTER THE TALKS.
BOWDLER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 12-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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Disposition Reason:
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vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/cb038648-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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